REMARKS

ON THE

People *and* Government

OF

SCOTLAND.

PARTICULARLY

The *HIGHLANDERS*; their original CUSTOMS, MANNERS, *&c.*

WITH

A Genuine ACCOUNT of the HIGHLAND REGIMENT that was decoyed to *London.*

Quære, *If that* REGIMENT *had remained in their proper Station, there had been any* REBELLION? *Or whether they would not have ſuppreſſed it in its Infancy?*

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

WHEN the *Highlanders* walk'd the ſtreets here, every body muſt be ſenſible that there was more ſtaring at them than ever was ſeen at the *Morocco* embaſſador's attendance, or even at the *Indian* chiefs, who ſome people would have paſſed on us for kings. The amazement expreſſed by our mob was not greater than the ſurprize of theſe poor creatures; and if we thought their dreſs and language barbarous, they had juſt the ſame opinion of our manners; nor will I pretend to decide which was moſt in the right. But to prevent ſuch ſtaring for the future, and to give the people a better notion of *Highlanders*, as well as the *Highlanders* a better notion of us (if ever this pamphlet ſhould

travel ſo far *North*) I thought it not amiſs to lay hold of this opportunity of ſaying ſomething to the public, as to the preſent ſtate of *Scotland* in general, as well as to the fortune of the *Highland* regiment in particular.

That the *Highlands* of *Scotland* are wild and uncultivated is a fact not to be diſputed or denied, and whoever has travelled into *Wales* will not be much amazed that there are hills at one end of the iſland as well as the other. That the people too differ much in their manners and cuſtoms from thoſe about *London*, will not appear miraculous to any man who has ſeen *Cornwall*, the ſea-coaſt of *Lincolnſhire*, or any other diſtant county in *England*. But though it be true that there is nothing ſtrange in their country's being unlike this, or in the inhabitants differing from us, yet methinks it is pretty ſtrange, that lying at ſo ſmall a diſtance we ſhould be ſo little acquainted as to wherein this difference conſiſts.

Let me begin then with telling you what ſort of a country the *Highlands* is. In the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that taking the word in its uſual ſenſe, and as it is underſtood in oppoſition to the *Low-lands* of *Scotland*, the *Highlands* are very extenſive; for when you are once above *Perth*, the *Highlands* have no other bounds but the ſea. But though the name be thus extended,

yet

yet a great part of this vaſt tract of country is far from being either rocky or mountainous. The *North* of *Scotland* is indeed a high country by ſituation, but then it is both flat and fruitful, whereas the *Highlands*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, are not ſo. They conſiſt chiefly of long ridges of hills, in ſome places bare and barren, in others covered with foreſts of fir-trees interſpers'd with valleys, which they call *glens*, through which there generally run trout ſtreams. Where there are rivers they are moſtly rapid and dangerous, but for theſe rivulets they are very pleaſant, as well as very commodious. I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the *Highlands* abound with lakes or lochs, into which ſome rivers fall, and out of which others run. In the *glens* they have corn of all ſorts, but eſpecially barley and oats, the latter furniſhing them with bread, and the former with drink. Their horſes are ſmall but ſerviceable, their black cattle little but ſweet.

After this deſcription of the country, it cannot be expected that you ſhould find its inhabitants either very wealthy, or extremely polite, and yet it may be truly affirmed, that they are not indigent to the degree of beggars, or deſpicably rude. On the ſea-coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of their little ports, you ſee ſomething like induſtry, and the people don't make a much worſe figure than they do in *North Wales*, or the

iſles of *Scilly*. Their merchants do not deal for great ſums, and yet they make a ſhift to live pretty handſomely; and as for the meaner ſort who apply to trade, a few engage in manufactures, and the reſt either go to ſea, or tranſport themſelves to *Poland*, and there turn pedlars. But in the inland parts, and even on the coaſt where there is no conſiderable trade, dwell the very *Highlanders* we have to do with, and theſe are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people of *Scotland*, not ſo much by their dreſs, as by their manner of living, which is to this hour in a kind of vaſſalage, under their chiefs, and therefore theſe people are generally known in *North-Britain* by the name of the *Clans*.

This title has been pretty much heard of even in the *South*, ſince the revolution, and a great deal of trouble it hath coſt even the *Engliſh* miniſtry to keep theſe *Clans* quiet, though they lie at ſuch a diſtance. This began in king *William*'s time, when a large ſum of money was given to a *noble earl*, whoſe ſon and grandſon ſit now in both houſes, to diſtribute among the *heads* of theſe *Clans*, in order to ſilence their illegal loyalty, and make them more quiet. This method was found ſo eaſy, and withal ſo effectual, that it has been purſued ever ſince. The great earl of *Godolphin*, though a great enemy to corruption, was forced to go pretty near it, in order to keep fair with the

Clans,

Clans, but then he acted upon a true whig principle; he only gave away *Engliſh money* to prevent the worſe effects of *French*. By this practice he kept things eaſy for ſome time, 'till he ſuffered the *Scots* to *arm* themſelves by *law*, and then he was compelled to make the *union*, in order to diſarm them. Upon this occaſion it was thought that ſome method would have been taken to deſtroy the power of *the Clans*, and towards this indeed ſomething was done, but not much, as we have been ſenſible ſince; but to make this clear, it will be neceſſary to inform you what theſe *Clans* are, and wherein their power conſiſts. Without this, all that has been hitherto ſaid, and a great part of what I have ſtill to ſay, would be abſolutely as unintelligible as if it had been written in the language of the people I am ſpeaking of, which is *Iriſh*, as are indeed the cuſtoms that I am about to explain.

A *Clan* is pretty much the ſame thing with what the *Tartars* call a *Hord*, and that is very nearly what we underſtand by the word tribe, that is a ſmall body of people under the abſolute command of a chief. I ſhall not pretend to enquire how ancient this cuſtom is in *Scotland*, becauſe that might carry me into times of ſuch dark antiquity as might make me loſe my way. It is ſufficient for mypurpoſe to obſerve, that the government of the

Highland

Highland chiefs is perfectly patriarchal, the head having the reverence of a parent, and the power of a prince. Some of the old *Scotch* kings saw the danger of this, and would have corrected it, but they generally found their own power too weak, and that of these chiefs too strong, the people siding with them, not only against their duty to their prince, but against their own interest. Which at last brought one of their princes, whose name I think was *Malcolm*, to bring in by consent, a kind of new regulation not unlike that of our copy-hold estates here, by which these chiefs held of the crown under various kinds of tenures called generally in *Scotland* by the name of *fews*, which is equivalent to the *Norman fees* in *England*. Thus the *Clans* came to have a legal establishment, with much more power over their vassals than the king had over them as subjects.

We commonly mistake in *England* every laird in the highlands for a chief, but this is far from being so. A laird is a man of property, which may derive from purchase as well as descent, but the chieftain is an hereditary honour, which cannot be taken away. A chieftain, though his property be much inferior to that of many of the lairds in his family, commands them absolutely, as they do their tenants; and thus this sort of tyranny prevails through the *Highlands* in general, where the people have no wills of

their

their own, but entirely depend on the humour of their chiefs, to which they are ſo bent and faſhioned in their childhood, that though they have few principles, either civil or religious, and would ſcarce be perſuaded to take up arms for the protection of the government, or even for their own ſecurity, yet let but their chief whiſtle, and he has all his *following*, for that is the term given to thoſe who owe this kind of ſuit and ſervice, at his heels in an inſtant, ready to undertake whatever he commands, and even to burn, ſpoil and kill, if the chieftain pleaſes. The chief reaſon of their devotion is, as I have ſaid before, their tenures, which are entirely of a military nature, and leave all who hold under them ſo much in the power of the lord, that it is not worth while making any improvements, as on the other hand, this neceſſary poverty keeps the poor people in a fit diſpoſition for ſlavery, and binds them faſt to the intereſt of thoſe who mind them no more than their oxen or ſheep.

As the heads of theſe *Clans* are the greateſt part of them in the Jacobite intereſt, it cannot be wondered, that ſince the revolution the government has been conſtantly jealous of them, but as I hinted before, it may ſeem not a little ſtrange, that ſome method has not been taken to ſtrip them altogether of this extravagant power; and for this, as a very great ſecret in government, and which

it is certainly the intereſt of the *Engliſh* nation to know, I ſhall endeavour to account. This I think will be doing the greater ſervice, ſince it is a matter that few people underſtand, and thoſe few that do are for keeping that knowledge to themſelves, and making the moſt of it. For it muſt be allowed, to the honour of the great men in that part of this iſland, that they have always kept our miniſtry in the dark, as to the methods of managing their country-men, and by this artificial practice they maintain their own power, and accumulate vaſt eſtates. Yet it would be certainly for the intereſt of both nations to have this miſt ſo diſſipated, as that the ſtrength of *Scotland* might be thoroughly united to *England*, and the good ſenſe and induſtry of the *Engliſh* ſpread even to the *Orkneys* themſelves, where the people are rude and poor, it is true, but not ſo much from any natural impediments in their country, as from their not knowing how to improve its ſituation; for a multitude of creeks and ſea-ports, and an inexhauſtible fiſhery, are ſufficient to enrich any country that is habitable, and theirs is much more ſo, I mean the worſt and more *northern* part of it, than *Denmark*, *Norway*, or *Sweden*.

But to return to the point from which I digreſſed. The nobility and chieftains in *Scotland* having their intereſts blended by perpetual

tual intermarriages, have been always alike jealous of their prerogatives, and forward to extend them at the expence of the crown, as well as of the people. This was the true ſource of the ſeditions in the time of king *James* the firſt, and the ſeveral *Scotch* rebellions againſt his ſon king *Charles*. Religion and liberty were mere pretences to draw in the preſbyterian clergy and the rabble. The M——of *A*—— was ten times a greater tyrant in his own country than ever his greateſt enemies repreſented the king to be againſt whom he fought; and of this the reader will find indubitable proofs in the letters of general *Monk*, publiſhed in *Thurloe*'s collection. Nay the great *Montroſſe* himſelf was only loyal out of ſpight, and did not ſerve the king 'till he found he could not ſerve himſelf of the faction, which has been the caſe pretty much ever ſince. Under the rump parliament and *Cromwell* indeed things were put into another channel, garriſons were fixed at *Inverneſs* and other places in the *North*, and the whole government, civil as well as military, was put into the hands of *Engliſh* commiſſioners, who truſted the executive part of it chiefly to *Monk*, and he managed it with ſuch wiſdom and diſcretion as made the people not only tame and quiet, but eaſy and happy.

After the reſtoration things returned entirely into their own channel, and inſtead of the mild and equal government of the

Engliſh, the *Scotch* were delivered up again to be oppreſſed as uſual by their own countrymen, till they were ſo unfortunate as to fall under the dominion of two brothers of the name of *Maitland*, *viz.* the famous duke of *Lauderdale* and the lord *Hatton*. The duke was a thorough ſtateſman of an over-bearing enterprizing genius, which made him equally formidable in his own country, and uneaſy to the *Engliſh* miniſtry. The brother again was a lawyer, and ſeated at the head of juſtice; ſo that between them they had power paramount, and every man who was not of their faction was ſure to be oppreſſed by it. This exceſſive authority ſo injurious to that of the crown, as well as ſo oppreſſively heavy on the people, was maintained by the perſuaſion the king and his miniſtry had of the duke's great intereſt, and his brother's great parts, both of which, excluſive of the great weight which their high offices, large ſalaries and extenſive prerogatives gave them, and would have given any body elſe, was very probamatical. This however is certain, that never any man was more fear'd than the duke, or more hated than his brother, as may be ſeen at large in the memoirs of biſhop *Burnet*, who from being their creature became their enemy, and has very full and clearly ſhewn, that the arrogance of theſe two brothers made that military power neceſſary, which rendered the royal

royal family odious, and diffuſed a ſpirit of diſaffection through the antient kindom of *Scotland*, which had afterwards ſuch extraordinary effects.

This ſort of government was not extinguiſhed by the revolution, king *William* was forced to be ſerved as his predeceſſors had been, by ſuch great men as undertook to manage their parliaments, and keep under the friends of his father-in-law; with this view, ſometimes one man, ſometimes another was at the head of affairs, but whoever was at the head of them there remained a conſtant oppoſition, and every parliament naturally divided it ſelf into three factions. The *courtiers*, who went through ſtitch with whatever orders came down from *London*; the *country party*, which, to ſay the truth, was there generally ſpeaking *Jacobites*; and the *ſquadrone volante*, or the *flying ſquadron*, which made many fair pretences; but were at the bottom nearly a-kin to a certain generation of political *virtuoſi*, known here lately by the appellation of *foxes*, whoſe leading principle it was to gnaw a *hole* through any miniſter's ſcheme, 'till they found it *big* enough to let *themſelves in*.

But all theſe factions were in the zenith of their power under queen *Anne*, and as it is natural for men in the heighth of proſperity to grow wanton, ſo ſome of theſe great men puſhed matters to ſuch a length, that the

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But all theſe factions were in the zenith of their power under queen *Anne*, and as it is natural for men in the heighth of proſperity to grow wanton, ſo ſome of theſe great men puſhed matters to ſuch a length, that the

union became abſolutely neceſſary, ſince neither themſelves in *Scotland*, nor the government in *England*, could be ſafe without it. How it was brought about the hiſtories of thoſe times ſhew, and what odd revolutions there happened in parties about that time, may be known from this notorious fact, that a noble duke, a little after it took place, was made priſoner in his own houſe, for intending to bring down an army of the *Clans* to prevent that meaſure, and being ſoon after ſent for up to *London*, was made ſecretary of ſtate, and had a large ſhare in the government.

In the reign of king *George* the firſt, the rebellion revived the fame of the *Highlanders*. All the world knows how deeply they were engaged on both ſides; the marquis of *Tullibardine*, the earls *Marſchal*, *Mar*, *South Eſk*; the lords *Kenmure*, *Drummond*, with the lairds of *Glengary*, *Glenderule*, *Glencoe*, *Glenlyon*, *Struan*, &c. on the one ſide; and the great earl of *Sutherand*, the famous lord *Lovat*, the laird of *Grant*, not to mention the dukes of *Argyll*, *Douglas* and *Montroſſe* were on the other; ſo that things were pretty equally divided, and this, I ſuppoſe, made the extinction of the power of the *Clans* impracticable, even after the ſuppreſſing this rebellion, which gave the faireſt opportunity for it, that ever offered, becauſe, as the reader muſt obſerve,

ſerve, if there were delinquencies on one ſide, there were great merits on the other, and an equal deſire of power in both; very ſmall amendments were made in the nature of the tenures in that country, and as far as I have been able to learn, the power of their lords and lairds remained very near as great after as it was before it. Soon after the rebellion the great duke of *Argyll* and his brother were removed from all their employments, which of neceſſity occaſioned a mighty fluctuation of power in *Scotland* for ſome time, but at laſt the *Argyle* party came into power again, and have in ſome meaſure held it ever ſince.

But when people had in a very great degree forgot all theſe diſturbances, and ſcarce preſerved any remembrance of the outrages of the *Highlanders*, a ſudden reſolution was taken to put an end to their power, by diſarming them abſolutely; and it was at firſt propoſed to ſtrip them of their cloathing, that is, preventing their going in their ordinary dreſs. This was in the year 1725, and the motion for the bringing in this bill, which was intitled, For more effectual diſarming the *Highlanders* in that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and for the better ſecuring the peace and quiet of that part of the kingdom was made by a general officer ſtill living, and ſeconded by Mr. *Duncan Forbes*. By this law power is given

to

to the lord lieutenant of every one of the following ſhires, *viz.* *Dunbarton* on the *North* ſide of the Water of *Leven*, *Sterling* on the *North* ſide of the river of *Forth*, *Perth*, *Kincairdin*, *Aberdeen*, *Inverneſs*, *Nairn*, *Cromarty*, *Argyll*, *Forfar*, *Bamf*, *Sutherland*, *Caithneſs*, *Elgin*, and *Roſs*, and for ſuch other perſons as his majeſty ſhould authorize by his ſign manual, to cauſe letters monitory to be iſſued in his majeſty's name, directed to the *Clans* within any of the ſaid ſhires, commanding them on a certain day to deliver up all their arms and warlike weapons for the uſe of his majeſty, and to be diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as theſe commiſſioners ſhould think fit.

In caſe any of the *Clans* thus ſummoned ſhould be found to bear arms of any kind, and thereof be convicted, by oath of two credible witneſſes, before two juſtices of the peace, the penalty was, that the perſon ſo convicted ſhould be, by warrant under the hands and ſeals of ſuch juſtices, forthwith committed to ſuch ſafe cuſtody as ſhall be expreſſed in the warrant, to be there kept, without bail, until the ſaid juſtices ſhall cauſe him to be delivered over (as they are hereby empowered to do) to ſuch officers belonging to his majeſty's forces as ſhall from time to time be appointed to receive ſuch man to ſerve as a ſoldier in any of his majeſty's dominions *beyond the ſeas*; and the officer

officer who receives ſuch perſons, ſhall then cauſe the articles of war againſt mutiny and deſertion, to be read to them in the preſence of ſuch perſons as ſhall deliver over ſuch men to ſuch officers, who ſhall cauſe an entry thereof to be made, together with the names of the perſons ſo delivered over, and a certificate thereof in writing, under their hands and ſeals, to be delivered to the officers appointed to receive ſuch men; and after the reading the ſaid articles of war, every perſon ſo delivered over, ſhall be deemed a liſted ſoldier, and be ſubject to the diſcipline of war; and in caſe of deſertion, ſhall be puniſhed as a deſerter. The reader is deſired to take notice of this clauſe for a particular reaſon.

There were beſide other ſevere penalties, as for example, the poſſeſſor of any dwelling-houſe, barn or out-houſe was declared to be the owner of any arms concealed therein, and if convicted was to ſuffer as before; and if a woman, was to be impriſoned two years, or pay any fine that ſhould be ſet under an hundred pounds ſterling. By another clauſe in the ſame act, power is given to enter and ſearch any houſe, in the day or in the night time, in order to diſcover whether any arms were concealed; and if five perſons were aſſembled together, to defeat the purpoſes of this act, then the civil magiſtrates were allowed to call for military

aſſiſtance;

aſſiſtance; and in caſe any perſons were killed by the ſaid ſoldiers, they are indemnified by this act. Theſe and ſome other clauſes excited a pretty warm ſtruggle againſt the bill, and induced ſome of the ſtaunch aſſerters of liberty to treat it in their ſpeeches very freely. It paſſed however in the houſe of commons, by a very large majority, but was again oppoſed with great warmth of ſpirit in the houſe of peers, where, tho' at laſt it made its way, yet it brought this proteſt at its heels.

Die Lunæ 3 Maii 1725.

Hodie tertio vice lecta eſt Billa intitled, An act for more effectual diſarming the *Highlands* in that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and for the better ſecuring the peace and quiet of that part of the kingdom.

Then the queſtion was put, Whether this bill, with the amendments, ſhall paſs?

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

Diſſentient,

I. Becauſe the bill ſets forth, That many perſons in the *Highlands* commit many robberies and depredations, and oppoſe the due excution of juſtice againſt robbers, outlaws, and perſons attainted; which aſſertion we conceive was an inducement to paſs the Bill, and therefore ſhould have been fully made out by proof, or been undeniably clear from its notoriety;

riety; but no proof has been attempted to be made of it: and we have not heard that ſuch outrages as have been charged upon the *Highlanders* have been committed by them of late.

II. We apprehend that this bill gives to lords lieutenants of counties, juſtices of the peace, and others, ſuch large and diſcretionary powers, in ſome caſes, as are hardly to be truſted in the hands of any perſons in free government, unleſs apparently neceſſary for the preſervation of it.

III. Since the behaviour of the *Highlanders* has been peaceable and inoffenſive, for ſome years paſt, and is ſo at preſent, as far as it appears to us; we cannot but fear that this bill may prove unſeaſonable, may hazard the loſs of that invaluable bleſſing which we now enjoy, a perfect calm and tranquility, and raiſe among theſe people that ſpirit of diſcontent and uneaſineſs which now ſeems entirely laid; for we apprehend, that the execution of ſome authorities in this bill is more likely to create than to prevent diſorders: We think it applies ſevere remedies, where, as far as we perceive, there is no diſeaſe; and this at a time when the *Highlanders* not being accuſed of any enormities, for which, in our opinions, the

legiſlature ought in juſtice to puniſh them, or in prudence to fear them, we think it would become us, as good patriots to endeavour rather to keep them quiet than to make them ſo.

Litchfield, *Boyle*,
Wharton, *Scarſdale*.
Gower,

Soon after the paſſing of this act, lieutenants were appointed for the counties before mentioned; and that every thing might be done that was neceſſary to bring the *Highlands* into a perfect ſtate of ſubjection, theſe *Highland* forces were rais'd at that time in the ſhape of independant companies, each conſiſting of about 300 men; theſe were put under the command of ſuch noblemen and gentlemen as had ſignalized their zeal for the royal family and the preſent eſtabliſhment. As they were principally intended to put a final period to the inſurrections of the *Clans*, and to ſecure their country from any attempts that might be made by the *Highlanders* in the Jacobite intereſt, it was thought requiſite to preſerve their ancient habit, that they might be the more able to purſue any of theſe offenders into their faſtneſſes, which was a ſcheme well enough contrived, ſince hitherto the *Highlanders*, whenever they were in arms, by their agility and perfect knowledge of the country, had been always too many for the regular

trooops ;

troops; as the exploits of the famous *Robert Mac Gregor, alias Campbell*, commonly called *Rob Roy*, id eſt, *Red Robin*, from the colour of his hair, which are very well known, had rendered manifeſt; eſpecially ſince after a ſeries of treaſons and robberies, it had been found expedient to grant him a pardon, purely to prevent his doing further miſchief. But having mentioned theſe advantages which the *Highlanders* had over regular troops, it may not be amiſs to deſcribe them particularly, that theſe may the better appear, and the uſe of the *Highland* habit be made more conſpicuous.

To begin then with their ſhoes. The *Highlander* wears a ſort of thin pump or brogue, ſo light that it does not in the leaſt impede his activity in running; and from being conſtantly accuſtomed to theſe kind of ſhoes, they are able to advance or retreat with incredible ſwiftneſs, ſo that if they have the better in any engagement it is ſcarce poſſible to eſcape from them; and on the other hand, if they are over power'd they ſoon recover their hills, where it is impoſſible to reach them. The reader will eaſily perceive, that this is one of the advantages which the *Croats* and *Pandours* have over the *French* troops, eſpecially in ſuch a country as *Bavaria*, which is every where interſected by rivers. They gain from hence an opportunity, firſt of wearying their enemy

'till they are forced to break, and then they are ſure to be knocked on the head, as finding it impoſſible to run away from theſe people. In the next place, the *Highlander* wears broad garters under the knee, and no breeches, but his plaid belted about his waiſt, which hangs exactly like the folds of the *Roman* garment, which we ſee on *Equeſtrian* ſtatues; the reaſon of this dreſs is, to make the leg firm, and to leave the ſinews and joints quite free, to preſerve the wearer from any thing that may heat or embarraſs him, and to afford him an opportunity of extending his limbs with the greateſt eaſe; beſides this, he wears a jacket with ſtrait ſleeves, and as for his arms they conſiſt in a fuzil, a broad ſword, a dirk or dagger, an *Highland* piſtol all of ſteel, hung on the other ſide of his belt, oppoſite to the dirk, and a target. The uſe of theſe arms they learn from their infancy, and are extremely adroit in them.

The nature of their country, their manner of living, and their continual exerciſe in hunting, fiſhing, and fowling, render them hardy, robuſt, enterprizing, and equally capable of long marches, and of ſuſtaining patiently the want of food or of reſt. It is evident therefore, that the ſtriping theſe men of their arms, and obliging them as it were to a new kind of life, was a bold undertaking, and ſuch a one as ſeem'd to require

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an additional force; and in this caſe, none ſo proper as this of the independant companies; for thus the arms were taken out of the hands of the enemies of the government, and put into thoſe of their friends; this harſh law was executed entirely by their own country men, which gave it leſs the air of violence, than if it had been done by *Engliſh* troops; and laſtly it was done more effectually, for theſe new raiſed forces were able to march any where, knew the country, as well as thoſe they were to follow, and having legal authority were every way their ſuperiors.

From theſe circumſtances, I am naturally led to remark, that the men of which theſe independant companies were compoſed, looked upon themſelves as a kind of guardians to their country, friends to the proteſtant religion, and voluntiers in the ſervice of the royal family: for as to their pay, it was in truth very inconſiderable, and the very meaneſt of them ſerved in ſome meaſure out of zeal to the whig cauſe. This will be the eaſier underſtood, when I obſerve, that the famous lord *Lovat*, who had ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the year 1715, had the command of one of theſe companies, which he raiſed almoſt entirely out of his own *Clan* of the *Frazers*; and it was the ſame with the reſt; ſo that this gave great life and ſpirit to the friends

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of the preſent eſtabliſhment, and not only ſecured them from any apprehenſions of what might be undertaken by the diſſaffected *Highlanders*, but ſo diſpirited and dejected theſe, that they have never recovered themſelves ſince, but are ſinking apace into as tame and abject a condition, as their moſt inveterate enemies could wiſh to ſee them. Such were the effects of this new law, and new militia.

I might here take occaſion to enter into ſome political enquiries, as to the wiſdom of methods of this nature, which change and alter the tempers and manners of a people at once. There ought without doubt to be a great deal of caution uſed in ſuch caſes, in order to prevent the remedy of ſedition from being thought a juſt cauſe of rebellion. To oblige men to change of a ſudden cuſtoms they have been uſed too from their cradle, and to prohibit as the moſt flagrant of crimes, after a certain time what is allowed to be innocent before it; may be expedient, or even requiſite, but withal it is not eaſy, to bring thoſe who are to ſuffer theſe changes, to think them either juſt or reaſonable, and therefore ſome method ſhould be taken to blunt the edge of their reſentment, and to carry theſe people into ſome new courſe of life, either by eſtabliſhing manufactures, or encouraging their fiſhery. How far theſe things were thought of,

I cannot pretend to ſay, but certainly the *Engliſh* lords, who in oppoſing this law, adviſed ſuch methods, and inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on the hardſhips brought upon theſe people, without any previous proof of their deſerving them, gave ſigns of a free and generous ſpirit, and worthy of that noble candor for which the antient nobility of *England* were deſervedly famous. The intereſt that the *Scotch* lords (who puſhed this law) might have in ſeeing thoſe who had ſo often conteſted with them abſolutely cruſhed, might poſſibly have rendered them leſs attentive to ſuch conſiderations, than they would otherwiſe have been; at leaſt, this is certain, that their countrymen thought ſo, and that the inforcing of this act, would have been attended with bad conſequences, in which they were not altogether miſtaken.

There was another tranſaction in the year 1725, which made the *Scotch* people uneaſy; and that was the introduction of the malt tax; which taking place on the 23d of *June*, there happen'd thereupon an inſurrection at *Glaſcow*, where the people demoliſhed the houſe of *Daniel Campbell*, Eſq; of *Shawfield* their member, and drove out a conſiderable detachment of the earl of *Deloraine*'s regiment of foot, which had been ſent to reſtrain them. This was certainly one of the boldeſt and moſt daring actions that ever was attempted by a rabble, ſince

ſince there were ſeveral of them killed before they carried their point, in which notwithſtanding they perſiſted with great intrepidity. The magiſtrates were however thought to be in ſome meaſure faulty, and therefore it was judged requiſite to take a ſignal reparation for ſo groſs an inſult. The riot was on the 24th of *June*, and it was the 8th of *July* before proper methods were concerted for bringing theſe people to reaſon. On that day, major-general *Wade*, accompanied by *Duncan Forbes*, Eſq; ſet out from *Edinburgh*, and arrived about noon the next day on the moor not far from *Glaſcow*, where a body of troops were aſſembled with a ſmall train of artillery; theſe forces conſiſting of 4 troops of dragoons, 8 companies of the earl of *Deloraine*'s regiment of foot, the earl of *Stair*'s regiment, and one of the *Highland* companies; which acted as chearfully upon this occaſion, and were as ready in performing their duty, as any of the forces; and on the 17th when the magiſtrates of *Glaſcow* were ſent priſoners to *Edinburgh*, this independant company guarded them. Several of the rioters were tried for high treaſon, and two of them, a man and a woman, were convicted capitally; but the man ſetting forth by petition, that he had ſerved as a voluntier in the king's army at the rebellion, he was ſpared

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on that account, as the woman was out of compaſſion to her ſex.

I mention this, not only to ſhew the uſefulneſs and loyalty of theſe *Highlanders*, but the laudible lenity of the government towards the people of *Glaſcow*, who were known to be by principle the warmeſt friends to the preſent eſtabliſhment; and therefore it was by no means expedient to puniſh with extreme ſeverity, even this extraordinary act of indiſcretion, becauſe it would have diſcouraged other places; and enabled the enemies of the government to perſwade the common people, that when they had ſerved the turns of their ſuperiors, they were no better treated, than ſuch as had always and openly oppoſed them. The court did indeed obtain an act of parliament for reimburſing Mr. *Campbell* for the loſs of his houſe and goods, and by appropriating the revenue of the town of *Glaſcow*, gave him 6080*l.* on that account. From this time forward the independant *Highland* companies were made uſe of upon all occaſions, and acted with great ſpirit, whenever they were called to it in the ſervice of the crown or the adminiſtration, of which many inſtances might be given. This contributed not a little to heighten the good opinion they had of themſelves, and to confirm them in their notions, that they were particularly deſtined for the ſervice of that

country, for keeping under the *Jacobite* intereſt, and for promoting as far as they were able the proteſtant cauſe, and the authority of the preſent government, in all which they were unfeignedly hearty; and if they were ſometimes zealous beyond the degree of their knowledge, yet as they acted in ſimplicity of mind, and with a very upright intention, this could not leſſen their title to the favour of thoſe they ſo ſtrenuouſly ſerved; and for the truth of all that is here aſſerted, I may ſafely appeal to the people of *Scotland* in general, and to ſuch *Engliſh* people as have employments there in particular.

When the war broke out in which we are at preſent engaged, it was thought proper to put the *Highlanders* (who were now as well diſciplined as any troops in the ſervice) into a poſture fitting for action, in caſe there ſervice ſhould become neceſſary. This was certainly rightly judged, ſince though there were many reaſons for throwing them into independant companies, when they were firſt raiſed, yet moſt of theſe were now ceaſed, and beſides many inconveniencies were diſcerned to flow from their being in theſe ſort of corps, to which it was likewiſe very expedient, that an end ſhould be put; therefore no exception could be taken to the reſolution of the miniſtry, to have theſe forces regimented, which they accordingly

accordingly were, and the right honourable the earl of *Crawford* and *Lyndſey* the firſt earl in *Scotland*, and nephew to his grace the duke of *Argyll*, and to the right honourable the earl of *Ila*, appointed their colonel. This regulation was far from diſpleaſing the men; on the contrary, they expreſſed a very great ſatisfaction thereat, and upon all occaſions ſhewed themſelves as tractable, and as obedient to orders as men could be. Neither were they at all chagrined on the change of their colonel, for they were very glad of the earl of *Crawford*'s promotion, and very well pleaſed with the lord *Semple* who now commands them.

It is moſt certain, that they always looked upon themſelves from the time they were firſt raiſed as a corps deſtined to ſerve in *Scotland*, or rather in the *Highlands*, and no where elſe, for which, though it may be true, that they had not any ſubſtantial or ſufficient reaſons, yet it muſt be allowed, that they had ſome very plauſible ones, and which might eaſily miſlead people in their condition. For we muſt obſerve, that there are not only different kinds of proof adjuſted to different ſciences, but there are alſo arguments ſuited to different capacities; ſo that when men ſet up pretences in juſtification of their actions, it is very eaſy to diſcern, whether they were the real motives, or whether they are excuſes invented to

colour the facts they are to defend. Having premiſed this, we will proceed to mention the grounds on which theſe people eſtabliſhed this notion, which indubitably was one of the principal articles in their political creed. The manner of raiſing them in the firſt place ſeemed to countenance this; the *Jacobite Clans* were diſarmed, to preſerve the quiet of the nation, and becauſe the government could never be entirely ſafe, whilſt they had arms in their hands; but to ſtrengthen the ſecurity, and to put the peace of the *Highlands* paſt hazard, the arms taken from thoſe *Highlanders* were given to theſe, whence they inferred that they were to be the guards of the *Highlands*. In the next place, they laid great ſtreſs upon their habit, to what purpoſe, ſaid they, are we cloathed like *Highlanders*, if we are not conſtantly to be imployed in the *Highlands*; here indeed the dreſs is equally fit and commodious, it has a martial air, and it enables us to do our duty better; but all theſe reaſons will ceaſe elſewhere, and inſtead of looking like ſoldiers, we ſhould in another country be gaped at as ſavages. Laſtly, their having certain particularities to their country, ſuch as being the tenants of thoſe, who firſt raiſed them, ſpeaking little or no *Engliſh*, having houſes and families in the *Highlands*, all which were good ſecurities for their fidelity in

thoſe parts, which they improved into an argument, that it was impoſſible they ſhould be employed in any other.

When theſe things are impartially conſidered one cannot at all wonder, that folks like them ſhould be deceived by theſe colourings, eſpecially if we reflect that their paſſion for ſtaying at home, which, contrary to our notion, is predominant among the *Highlanders*, was flattered thereby. Beſides, there is another thing that ought to be taken into conſideration, and that is, that at the time they were firſt raiſed there was no ſmall mixture of their own cuſtoms with the military eſtabliſhment, for an independant company with an *Highland* chief at its head, has ſomething in it very like the military ſervice of a *Clan*, only ſanctified by legal authority. I will not ſay, becauſe I do not know it to be true, that many of theſe men entered into the ſervice out of pure reſpect to their chiefs, though this is exceeding probable, and if ſo they looked upon themſelves undoubtedly as a kind of loyal voluntiers, who had taken up arms, *pro aris & focis*, and quite different people from ſoldiers of fortune, who fight any where, and in any cauſe, for ſo much a day. I do not ſay that theſe are things which would, or which ought to excuſe other men, but I believe I may ſafely appeal to the whole people of *Scotland*, and to ſuch *Engliſh* gentlemen

men as are well acquainted with that country, whether there is any thing in nature more likely than that theſe ſuppoſitions appeared ſelf-evident truths to theſe men. They may look very idle and ridiculous to us, but they ſeem certain and ſolid to them, that is really their misfortune, which we call a fault in them, and we might as well, becauſe we live on white bread and ſtall-fed beef, reproach them for being able to eat oat-cakes and dried fiſh, as be angry with them for thinking in a manner conformable to the prejudices of their education; or rather to the prejudices ariſing from the want of education, on account of our having good ſenſe enough to ſee through them. It is a great bleſſing to have clear ſight and ſtrong limbs, but it would be thought an odd uſe of thoſe bleſſings, if ſuch as poſſeſſed them ſhould take it in their heads to puniſh the purblind and the weak for not ſeeing ſo far, or working ſo hard as themſelves.

I am very well aware of an objection to which this doctrine may be thought liable; and that is, that they might have been better informed by their officers; and yet a little reflection will be ſufficient to ſhow, that there is no ſtrength in this objection at all. For we are to conſider that their officers were of the ſame nation, and from their views of intereſt, and even from their attachment to the government, the leaſt likely

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to undeceive them, ſince before they were ordered to march *Southward*, this muſt have appeared a very innocent error, and attended rather with good than bad conſequences. I ſay this on a ſuppoſition that their officers knew it to be an error, which is carrying the thing as far as can be, ſince in all human probability, the officers thought in this reſpect like the private men, and never dream'd that ſuch a whim would come into any body's head as to ſend for them to ſhow their bare backſides in *England*. If indeed on the breaking of the old corps and uniting all the *Highlanders* in a regiment, they had been new clothed like the reſt of the army, and told, when the articles of war were read to them, that they were to conſider themſelves for the future ſimply as a marching regiment, this had been ſufficient to have prevented all that hath followed ſince. But it is an eaſy thing to aſſign remedies when they come too late, and it is as eaſy a thing to make ſlips, and fall into overſights in the ordinary conduct of affairs.

The firſt diſcovery that was made of the miſchiefs attending this notion was when the officers had an intimation of the deſign of marching them into *England*, for then the men were not at all ſhy in declaring, that this was a thing they never expected, and with which they ſhould very unwillingly comply. Upon this, good words were given them, and they were prevailed upon

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to begin and continue their march, though not without viſible reluctance, which was the reaſon that it was publiſhed in ſome foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned into their own country. This account, though glaringly falſe, was repeated from time to time in thoſe papers, with additional circumſtances, and which to me I confeſs appeared a little extraordinary, was never taken notice of, or contradicted in ours, though there could not have been a fairer opportunity of giving theſe poor people proper advice, and thereby preventing their falling into an error which is like to prove ſo fatal to them. But theſe are thought trivial things, and below the notice of great men, though it is certain, that if this fooliſh deſertion of the *Highlanders* could have been prevented, it would have been ſervice of more importance to the ſtate than it would be convenient for me to explain.

In their march through the *North* part of *England*, I mean through *Cumberland*, *Durham*, and *Yorkſhire*, they were ſo hoſpitably treated, that they continued in perfect good humour, and it was believed that their love of their country was a little worn off, and that they would reliſh the change pretty well. But when they drew nearer town, and met with the compliments of our true bred *Engliſh* clowns, they grew more gloomy

gloomy than ever; and indeed we need not wonder at this, for if we expect that men ſhould have ſpirit enough to revenge their country's wrongs abroad, we cannot well ſuppoſe that they will tamely bear the groſſeſt affronts at home. But what wrought upon the *Highlanders* moſt, was a ſilly ſtory they pick'd up in their paſſage, that they were to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*. Now if we conſider the fate of the marines, of the invalids and other regiments that were ſent there, we need not be ſurprized that this news had a very bad effect, even on the minds of men of courage. When *Nebuchadnezzar* aſſembled millions on the plains of *Babylon*, there were but three men found who would venture on the fiery furnace, and they did it on a higher principle than that of military obedience. Fellows uſed to ſnow and ice, and the ſharp winds of their own bleak mountains, were of all others the leaſt likely to care for trying the contrary extreme, and withal the leaſt fit to bear it; ſo that on the whole, if there had been any foundation for the report, this might have paſſed for a very pardonable panick.

But here I muſt beg leave to remind the reader, that beſides the reaſons any other people might have had to be afraid of a *Weſt-India* expedition, and over and above the hazards I have before mentioned, from the extraordinary difference of climates, there

was one yet more cogent than all the reſt, and that was the clauſe I have already recited page 15 from the act of parliament of the eleventh of the late king; whence it appears that ſending the *Highlanders* to the *Weſt-Indies* was eſteemed the higheſt puniſhment that ſpared life; and therefore, when theſe fellows came to think that they were to be ſent to *Jamaica*, it naturally came into their heads, that they had been firſt uſed as rods to ſcourge their own countrymen, and after their having ſufficiently tamed them were now to be thrown into the fire. This to be ſure alarmed them ſtrongly, and if they did not communicate their fears in the plaineſt terms to their officers, we need only reflect on the ſeverity of military diſcipline, and we cannot be at a loſs for the cauſe. To ſay the truth, the care they took in concealing their apprehenſions is the cleareſt, becauſe the moſt natural proof in the world of the deep impreſſions they had made, and therefore to ſuch as underſtand the human diſpoſition all other evidence will be needleſs.

The jealouſies and uneaſineſſes of the *Highlanders* remained in a great meaſure concealed 'till the review. On this they had fixed great hopes, and built mighty expectations on their being ſeen and conſidered by his majeſty or ſome of the royal family, for whom, without queſtion, they have a moſt

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ſincere and loyal reſpect. On the 14th of *May*, they were accordingly reviewed by general *Wade*, and abundance of perſons of diſtinction, who were extremely delighted with the readineſs and chearfulneſs they expreſſed in the performance of their military exerciſes, and they were ſo juſt as to report this very faithfully where they thought it might moſt benefit theſe people. However they from that moment meditated this deſign of retiring back to their own country, which they executed ſoon after with an intrepidity worthy of a wiſer meaſure. The ſcheme itſelf, was certainly as wild and extravagant as ever entered the thoughts of man; and though ſome people have taken a great deal of pains to ſhew the feaſibility of it, and that it was not abſolutely impoſſible but that they might have ſucceeded, yet I muſt confeſs, I think thoſe that talk at this rate, as mad as the *Highlanders* themſelves; and leſs excuſably ſo, ſince the latter may plead their ignorance of the *Engliſh* country, and of the diſpoſition of the forces in thoſe parts through which they were to paſs.

The review afforded them an opportunity of providing ſome ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted without ſuſpicion; and their capacities to bear the injuries of weather and hard diet, made them imagine they ſhould have great advantages in this extraordinary march. Full therefore of theſe falſe hopes

and ill grounded notions, they aſſembled in the night between the *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* following the review, on a common near *Highgate*, and began their march northward, keeping as near as they could, between the two great roads, and paſſing from wood to wood in ſuch a manner, that it was not well known which way they moved. The lords juſtices iſſued their order to the commanding officers of the forces quarter'd in the countries between them and *Scotland*; and the ſecretary at war, by direction from their excellencies, publiſhed an advertiſement for encouraging civil officers to do their duty, in making a vigilant enquiry after them. All this, however, proved to no purpoſe, for longer time than could well have been expected, ſince it was five o'clock in the evening, on *Thurſday* the 19th of *May*, before any certain account was obtain'd of them, and then they were got as far as *Northampton*, and were conceived to be ſhaping their courſe for *Nottinghamſhire*. General *Blakeney* who commanded at *Northampton*, immediately diſpatch'd capt. *Ball* of general *Wade*'s regiment of horſe, who was extremely well acquainted with that part of the country, to enquire after them, and find them out. This the captain took great pains to do, and with a ſquadron of horſe puſhed as far as *Stilton*, and ſo got beyond them; but he had ſcarce reached

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that place, before he received an expreſs from the general with advice, that about 3 in the afternoon, the *Highlanders* had paſs'd the river *Nyne*, not far from *Wellingborow*. Capt. *Ball* upon this rightly conjectured, that they were marching towards *Rutland-ſhire*, and therefore continued his rout towards *Uppingham* in that county, from whence he diſpatched a keeper of the earl of *Gainſborough*'s to find out certainly where they were, as being ſenſible, that he muſt now be very near them.

The *Highlanders* had by this time got into *Lady-Wood*, which lies between *Brig-ſtock* and *Deanthorpe*, about 4 miles from *Oundle*, where they were diſcovered, and information carried to major *John Creed*, one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace for the county, and as worthy and well eſteemed a man as any in the kingdom, whoſe love of liberty, whoſe loyalty to the preſent royal family, and whoſe affection for the true intereſt of his country, are as well known as his courage, prudence and beneficence; virtues which have been long hereditary in his family. This gentleman inſtantly diſpatched the conſtable of *Oundle* to find out captain *Ball*, and to give him notice of the place where the *Highlanders* had taken ſhelter. The ſame night alſo he ſent advice thereof to the regency, and the next morning being *Whitſunday*, he went

went early in the morning to *Lady-Wood*, and had a conference with the *Highlanders*, whom he perſuaded to lay down their arms, and promiſed to intercede for a pardon; they received him with great ſubmiſſion, and were very far from rejecting either his propoſal, or his advice, only they inſiſted that as their lives were at ſtake, they might be ſecure of a pardon before they parted with their arms; inſiſting upon it, that if they were to die, it was better and more honourable for them to fall in the field, than by the ſtroke of juſtice. The major having brought them into ſo good a diſpoſition, offered immediately to write in their behalf to his grace *John* duke of *Montague*, maſter general of the ordinance, and one of the lords juſtices; a nobleman, whoſe generoſity and compaſſion makes him naturally thought of, when any application for compaſſion becomes requiſite. This letter to his grace, was written upon the ſpot, by the direction of major *Creed*, and ſigned by him, of which the following is a very exact copy.

" *To*

" *To his Grace the Duke of* Montague, *&c.*

" *My lord duke,*

" I Did myſelf the honour this morning " to write to your grace, and ſince that, " I have ſeen ſome of the gentlemen *High-* " *landers.* I propoſed to them to lay down " their arms, and depend upon the king's " mercy and clemency; and did aſſure them " that your grace would ſtand their friend, " as much as poſſible. They acknowledg'd " they had forfeited their lives, according " to the laws of the land; and therefore " were not willing to lay down their arms, " without being aſſured of a pardon; and " in that caſe they will be willing to re- " turn to their regiment again, and pro- " miſe fidelity for the future. And in this " caſe they deſire, that one of their officers " may be ſent down for them, with a route " to march by, otherwiſe they cannot be " provided for upon the road. I beg your " grace will anſwer me by the firſt poſt, " becauſe I ſuppoſe they will continue in " the neighbourhood, 'till they have an " anſwer. They inſiſt it may be a ſuffi- " cient pardon ſigned by the regency and " ſecretary of war. I beg your grace will " excuſe my not writing this letter myſelf,

" becauſe

" becauſe it is in the field, in the preſence
" of the *Highlanders*. I am

Sunday morning
5 o' clock.
May 22, 1743.

Your Grace's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
JOHN CREED.

But as it was farther neceſſary to apply to the commander of the king's forces, in order to engage him to wait for a return to this application, the major was ſo kind as to write, in the preſence of the *Highlanders*, to major *Otway*.

" *SIR*,

" I Have been talking with the *High-*
" *landers*, and have juſt now wrote to
" the duke of *Mountague* to let him know
" they are willing to return to their regi-
" ment, provided they be pardoned. Where-
" fore I deſire you will not commit any acts
" of hoſtility 'till I have an anſwer to that
" letter, which I hope will be by the firſt
" poſt. They are a brave, bold ſort of peo-
" ple, and are reſolved not to ſubmit, 'till
" their pardon comes down. I ſhall be
" glad to ſee you at *Oundle*; and am,

Lady-wood, May 22,
1743.

Sir,
your humble ſervant,
JOHN CREED.

Theſe

Theſe preliminaries ſettled, the *Highlanders* thought themſelves very ſafe 'till they had a return to major *Creed*'s letter. But about 12 o'clock the ſame day they were diſcovered by the lord *Gainsborough*'s keeper, who immediately gave notice to captain *Ball*, who having diſpatch'd an expreſs to the general at *Stamford*, march'd into the wood. He had ſome converſation with them, in which he endeavoured to perſuade them to lay down their arms immediately; and threatned, if they did not, to march his forces and attack them directly. The *Highlanders* upon this had inſtant recourſe to major *Creed*, at *Oundle*, to whom they wrote the following letter.

" *Honoured Sir*,

" JUST now came here a captain be-
" longing to general *Blakeney*'s regi-
" ment, and propos'd to us to ſurrender to him,
" without regard to your honour's letter to
" the duke of *Montagu*, which we refuſed
" to do, wherefore he is gone for his ſqua-
" dron, and is immediately to fall upon us.
" So that if you think that they can be kept
" off 'till the return of your letter, you'll
" be pleas'd to conſider, without loſs of
" time, I am,

Honoured Sir,
Your Honour's
moſt humble Servant,

May 22, 1743.

Together with this letter the *Highlanders* ſent a meſſage to major *Creed*, importing, that they were not ſuch raw ſoldiers as not to know how to make the moſt of an advantageous poſt; and that if things came to extremities, they would certainly make the moſt vigorous reſiſtance poſſible, and die to a man rather than ſurrender on any other terms than thoſe which they had propoſed to him. Major *Creed* having conſidered the new turn that things had taken, and being ſtill deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent any effuſion of blood, wrote them the following mollifying letter in anſwer to theirs.

" I do not know what orders the king's
" troops may have had ſince I ſaw you;
" you ſee now what ſituation you are in.
" I think it proper you ſhould ſurrender
" yourſelves and return to your duty. As
" I have already intended to do you the beſt
" ſervice I could, by applying to the Duke
" of *Montagu* in your behalf, in caſe you
" ſurrender, I will ſtill continue to do ſo.
" I will ſee you to-morrow morning early, if
" you deſire it, which is all I can ſay, un-
" till I have an anſwer from the duke of
" *Montagu*.

May 22, 1743. JOHN CREED.

All

All this time captain *Ball* was making his diſpoſitions, and having received the general's orders to march as near the deſerters as was convenient, and about ſeven in the evening, arrived the general himſelf, with a ſquadron of *Churchill*'s dragoons, and one of *Wade*'s horſe, and about nine all the forces were drawn up in order near the wood, where the *Highlanders* lay. When theſe people ſaw things in this ſituation, and expected every moment to be attacked, they thought it highly neceſſary to obtain (if poſſible) another treaty, that they might not to the ſtain of deſerting, add a deeper of killing ſome of the king's troops; they therefore ſent one of their guides to inform the general, that the ſame officer who conferred with them in the morning might come ſafely into the wood, and propoſe the terms that were to be offered them. The general, upon this application directed captain *Ball* to comply with their requeſt, and to bring the affair to as ſpeedy a deciſion as poſſible.

The captain, in obedience to the general's orders, went into the wood, and told the *Highlanders*, that all the terms they were to expect was to lay down their arms, and be received priſoners at diſcretion, which they abſolutely refuſed, declaring that they would be cut to pieces, before they would ſubmit, unleſs the general ſent them, under his hand, a promiſe that their arms ſhould

not be taken from them, and that they ſhould have a free pardon. Upon this captain *Ball*, being willing to obſerve in what manner they had encamp'd themſelves, deſired he might be conducted to the whole body, in order to treat with them altogether. On his admittance, he found them drawn up, with a very thick wood in the rear, a large ditch about four or five foot high, with a foreſt hedge thereon, in manner as near as could be like an half moon; before them was a ſmall path about four or five foot wide, with a ſtrong and thick wood behind that; on each end of the half moon, they had planted about 20 men to ſecure the path, and in the body about 70; the reſt were to guard the high gate that led to the path. When the captain had view'd the ſituation they were in, he told them it was not in his power to grant them their conditions, but would acquaint the general therewith; which being done, captain *Ball* was order'd back to them, and finding ſome of them inclinable to ſurrender, he encouraged them, and would have talked with them ſeparately, but four of them, in a moſt reſolute manner, preſented their firelocks at him, and ſwore, that if he offered to talk or treat with any more of their company ſeperately, they would ſhoot him immediately.

On which captain *Ball* delivered the general's conditions of their ſurrender, *viz.*

That

That if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves priſoners, he aſſured them the moſt favourable report ſhould be made of them to the lords juſtices: but on their proteſting again, that they would be cut to pieces before they would capitulate on other conditions, than before they had demanded, of their arms and a free pardon for all, captain *Ball* told them, that as yet he was their friend, and would do all in his power to ſerve them, but if they continued obſtinate an hour longer, (as they were entirely ſurrounded by the king's forces) every man of them would be cut to pieces; and he aſſured them, that for his part, he would poſitively grant quarter to none, and demanded that two of their company might be ordered to conduct him out of the wood, which being granted, and the captain finding by the diſcourſe he had with theſe conductors, that they (being brothers) were inclinable to ſurrender, he abſolutely promiſed them both a free pardon, and taking one of them with him, diſmiſſed the other back with his arms to deſire and try whether fair words, *&c.* would prevail with the reſt. He very ſoon returned with thirteen more, and the guard at the gate ſoon complied with the captain's requeſts and intreaties. After the captain had marched theſe a little way from the wood, he diſpatched one of them to the main

main body, to inform them how many of their fellows had ſubmitted, and in about half an hour ſeventeen more came and ſurrendered; all which were immediately marched with their arms (the powder being blown out of each man's pan) by captain *Ball* to the general, where they laid down their arms. When returning again to the wood, the whole body (being 98 in number, the reſt being ſcatter'd about the country) ſubmitted to the general's conditions.

They were then put as priſoners under the care of captain *Ball*, who conducted them about two o'clock the next morning to *Oundle*, from whence on *Tueſday* he marched them to *Northampton*, where they halted for two days, and then continued their route to *London*. Such was the end of this wild-gooſe expedition, which ſufficiently ſhews, how little probability there is of ſucceeding in attempts of this nature. The *Highlanders* had certainly all the incentives men could have to march briſkly, and make the beſt of their way home, for they were ſurrounded every where with the kings troops, and had no proſpect but that of death, if they were taken. Neither were they very ſlow in their proceedings, ſince they were near ſeventy miles from *London*, when they were taken. Yet when we reflect that this was not above a fifth part of their journey, it makes it very evident, that they could

could not have entertained a worſe founded notion, than this of making a retreat through the heart of ſo well cultivated a country as *England*, in which, at the ſame time, they were ſtrangers and far from being beloved, ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their dreſs as ſoldiers, and ſtill more ſo by the additional accoutrements of a *Highland* militia. Theſe particulars no doubt were inſiſted upon by captain *Ball*, when he perſwaded them to ſurrender, and when the fellows came to think coolly, nobody can wonder, that theſe reaſons had their weight, and thereby deſtroyed that ſyſtem confederacy, which was to have held theſe raſh men together. That they ſhewed leſs courage in throwing down their arms, than was expected, is, I muſt confeſs, a charge in my opinion, not to be regarded, ſinceſi ghting to make one's condition worſe, is, ſetting aſide all notions of law, honour or juſtice, a very fooliſh thing. Some ſhadow they had of eſcaping by a ſurrender, whereas the death of one of the king's troops had been the death of them all, and in this ſituation, I think few people would have a ſtomach to fight, eſpecially in a ſtrange country, and without the leaſt degree of hope. So that taking things altogether, their ſurrender is rather a mark of their ſenſe, than an imputation on their courage, which I think is acknowledged in the foregoing relation of captain

captain *Ball* himſelf, who ſeems to be a very proper judge of it.

While this was doing in the country, there was nothing but the flight of the *Highlanders* talked of in town. The wiſer ſort blamed it, but ſome of their hot-headed country-men, were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 *Greeks* through *Perſia*, by which, for the honour of the antient kingdom of *Scotland*, corporal *Mac Pherſon* was erected into a *Xenophon*. But amongſt theſe idle dreams, the moſt injurious were thoſe that reflected on their officers, and by a ſtrange kind of *inuendo*, would have fixed the crime of theſe people's deſertion upon thoſe who did their duty and ſtaid here. As to the reſt of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to *Kent*, whether they marched very chearfully, were from thence tranſported to *Flanders*, and are by this time with the army, where I dare ſay it will quickly appear, they were not afraid of fighting the *French*. Yet this was another conundrum that got into ſome idle heads. A noble lord, who now I think is a colonel of horſe, and as good an officer as any in our own, or perhaps in foreign armies, when he heard this ſuggeſted in a place where it was like to do the poor runaways moſt hurt, turned off the edge of the reflection by the following

ing

ing ſtory, which is ſtrictly true, and was certainly very much to the purpoſe.

I am very far, ſaid he, from having any apprehenſions of theſe people behaving ill abroad, from this error they have committed at home. In king *William*'s war there was a *Highland* regiment, that to avoid going to *Flanders*, had formed a deſign of flying into the mountains. This was diſcover'd before they could put in execution, and general *Mackay*, who then commanded in *Scotland*, cauſed them to be immediately ſurrounded and diſarmed, and afterwards ſhipp'd them for *Holland*. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briſkly upon all occaſions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, ſome wiſe people were pleaſed to tell king *William* that ſome of the *Highlanders* drank king *James*'s health, which it is very probable might be true. The king, whoſe good ſenſe taught him to deſpiſe ſuch dirty informations, aſked general *Talmaſh*, who was near him, how they behaved in the field; as well as any troops in the army, anſwered the general, like a ſoldier and a man of honour; why then, replied the king, if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they pleaſe. But there is no ground to imagine, that any of this regiment are tainted with ſuch idle prejudices, they have always diſtinguiſhed

themſelves by their loyalty to the preſent king, and even this miſtake of theirs demonſtrates their love for their country, which would paſs for an excuſe with ſome people.

On the road, and even after they entered *London*, they kept up their ſpirits, and marched very chearfully, nor did they ſhew any marks of terror, when they were brought into the tower: but when four who were thought to be principals in this affair, were taken from them and put into ſafe cuſtody by themſelves, their countenances fell, and they were viſibly diſmay'd; ſo whimſical and unſteady a thing is human courage, and ſo little to be depended on in all conjunctures. This, alarms one man, that, another, and even bodies of men, who behave intrepidly as ſoldeirs, loſe their ſpirits when diſarmed, and treated as criminals. Theſe poor men were not ſuffered to languiſh long in confinement before a court-martial was appointed for their trial, compoſed of the officers of the guards, general *Folliot* being appointed preſident. By this court they have been tried, and the report is ſhortly to be made to their excellencies the lords juſtices.

What now remains, but that we wiſh them as men, as unfortunate men, as ſtrangers, as people bewitched with the love of bleak heaths and barren mountains, and

yet

yet our fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects, *a good deliverance*. If what ſhall be offered in their favour, to thoſe in whoſe hands their lives now lie, ſhall be thought *weighty* enough to bear down the *load* of *reproach* this fooliſh action has brought upon them, *let them receive mercy*. If the preſent ſituation of things, and the neceſſity of preſerving military diſcipline in a time of war, render this inexpedient, *let them feel the ſeverity of juſtice*. But if upon a ſtrict examination any circumſtances have been found which *exaggerate* their *crimes*, to a degree unworthy of all *pity*, let their *fears* pronounce their *ſentence*, let them not be *ſhot* like *ſoldiers*, *let them be tranſported to the* WEST-INDIES.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM